## Message Text

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**ACTION NEA-10** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-05 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 AID-05

SSM-03 IO-11 /094 W

----- 058114

R 091524Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 531

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR PINT IS XF

SUBJ: CONTINUATION OF LABOR ALIGNMENT FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

REF: TEL AVIV 1588

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED:

1. SUMMARY: HIGHLIGHT OF THE SECOND PART OF LABOR ALIGNMENT FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE MARCH 8 WAS JUSTICE MINISTER HAIM ZADKOK'S DEFENSE OF GOI FEB 22 DECISION TO EXPLORE "END-OF-THE-STATE-OF-WAR" INITIATIVE. ON HARDLINE SIDE, POLICE MINISTER SHLOMO HILLEL AND MK MORDECHAI BEN-PORAT (A CLOSE ASSOCIATE OD DAYAN) CRITICIZED THE INITIATIVE ON THE GROUNDS THAT ISRAEL IS ABANDONING FINAL PEACE GOAL. MAPAM LEADER YAACOV HAZAN AND MAPAI MK ESTHER HERLITZ FAVORED IT TO MAINTAIN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL IN US AND EUROPE. THE DEBATE IS TO RESUME AGAIN IN ABOUT TWO WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

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2. MAIN PRESENTATION AT THE SESSION OF LABOR ALIGNMENT DEBATE

WAS DELIVERED BY JUSTICE MINISTER HAIM ZADOK WHO VIGOROUSLY DEFENDED GOI'S DECISION TO EXPLORE END OF STATE OF WAR INITIATIVE. ZADOK ATTACKED ALIGNMENT "DOVES" (THE RERERENCE WAS TO YITZHAK NAVON AND AHARON YARIV) WHO LAST WEEK CRITICIZED THE FEB 22 CABINET DECISION. ZADOK SAID THAT AN ISRAELI REFUSAL TO EXAMINE THE END OF STATE OF WAR INITIATIVE WOULD LEAD TO THE COUNTRY'S INCREASED ISOLATION ON THE WORLD SCENE IN GENERALAND IN THE US IN PARTICULAR. ACCORDING TO ZADOK, THE US HAD PROPOSED THE NEW INITIATIVE SINCE IT BELIEVED THAT NEITHER THE ARABS NOR ISRAEL WERE READY AT THIS POINT TO PAY THE PRICE WHICH A FULL PEACE ENTAILS, ZADOK ATTACKED LABOR ALIGNMENT MEMBERS WHO ADVOCATED END OF STATE OF WAR APPPROVED LAST YEAR, WHEN IT WAS UNATTAINABLE, YET REJECTED IT THIS YEAR. PEACE, ZADOK STRESSED, STILL REMAINS ISRAEL'S OBJECTIVE; END OF THE STATE OF WAR WOULD CREATED A "PASSIVE PEACE" ON WHICH THE FOUNDATIONS OF A TRUE PEACE COULD BE CONSTRUCTED. ZADOK SAID IT MADE NO SENSE TO DRAW "PEACE MAPS" AND STILL CLAIM THAT ISRAEL WANTED TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS. NOBODY AT ALL, THE US INCLUDED, ACCEPTED ISRAEL'S MOST MODERATE PEACE MAP, OR WOULD TAKE IT SERIOUSLY.

- 3. VETERAN MAPAM LEADER YAACOV HAZAN ALSO FAVORED THE END OF STATE OF WAR INITIATIVE. HE NOTED THAT "THE ISSUE IS THE DIVISION OF THE REMAINING PART OF OUR HOME LAND BETWEEN JEW AND ARAB...." ADVOCATING AN AGREEMENT WITH AMERICA, HAZAN SAID, THAT AMERICA WAS AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME A FRIEND, A NEGOTIATOR AND AN INTERESTED PARTY. ONLY IF WE REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE AMERICANS IS THERE A CHANCE OF COMING TO AGREEMENT WITH THE ARABS. FOR THE SAKE OF WINNING THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC OPINION IN AMERICA AND EUROPE, ISRAEL SHOULD "ANNOUNCE WHERE WE SHALL STOP RETREATING, WHERE WE CONSIDER OUR DEFENSIBLE BORDERS SHOULD BE...." ESTHER HERLITZ (EX-MAPAI) ALSO FAVORED THE INITIATIVE, EMPHASIZING THAT ISRAEL SHOULD SEEK TO RE-ESTABLISH ITS POSITIONS IN EUROPE AND AFRICA AND NOT ACT THROUGH THE US ALONE.
- 4. POLICE MINISTER SHLOMO HILLEL, WHO TOOK THE OPPOSITE
  POSITION, WARNED AGAINST SWITCHING TO THE "NON-BELLIGERENCY
  DREAM". ACCORDING TO HILLEL, IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO REVERT
  TO THE PEACE AIM "WHICH THE AMERICANS THEMSELVES AGREED ONLY FIVE
  MONTHS AGO MUST BE THE NEXT GOAL IN THE MOVEMENT ENGENDERED BY
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THE SEPARATION OF FORCES". HILLEL NOTED THAT WHEN THE SECOND AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT WAS SIGNED, IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE FOLLOWING THREE YEARS WOULD BE USED FOR A CLEAR-HEADED SEARCH FOR PEACE. "WHY DID THE AMERICANS URGE NON-BELLIGERENCY WHILE THE WITHDRAWAL IN THE SINAI WAS STILL IN PROGRESS?" HILLEL ASKED. HE SAID THAT SHOULD THE ARABS AGREE TO TALK ABOUT NON-BELLIGERENCY, THE AMERICANS WILL EXERT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE IMAGE OF "INTRACTABLE ISRAEL" WOULD

SOON BE THROWN UP AGAIN.

5. MORDECHAI BEN-PORAT, MK, ONE OF THE RAFI FACTION HAWKS AND A CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF DAYAN, ALSO OPPOSED THE INITIATIVE. HE SAID THAT WHEN THE US LAST YEAR SAID IT EXPECTED PEACE TO BE THE NEXT STEP AFTER THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, IT DID NOT REALLY MEAN IT. BEN-PORAT OBSERVED THAT THE ARABS AND THE WORLD IN GENERAL ONLY TAKE NOTICE OF ISRAEL BECAUSE OF THE IDF'S MIGHT AND THE AREAS IT CONTROLS. IF THE ARABS KEPT ON RECEIVING ARMS AT THE PRESENT RATE WHILE ISRAEL KEPT ON RELINQUISHING AREAS, ISRAEL WOULD FIND ITSELF IN A PERILOUS SITUATION TWO YEARS HENCE. BEN-PORAT URGED HIS ALIGNMENT COLLEAGUES TO PUSH FOR AN EARLY GENERAL ELECTION.

6. LABOR ALIGNMENT DEBATE IS DUE TO RESUME IN ABOUT TWO WEEKS. END UNCLASSIFIED.

7. BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE. DEBATE CONTAINED NEITHER NEW DEVELOPMENTS NOR SURPRISES. MAJOR BENEFIT OF THESE SESSIONS, AT WHICH RABIN AND OTHER TOP LEADERS ARE PRESENT, IS THAT THEY PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE ALIGNMENT'S CABINET AND KNESSET REPRESENTATIVES. ON THE DECISION-MAKING LEVEL, THE LABOR ALIGNMENT IS PRESENTLY MARKING TIME PENDING ALLON'S WASHINGTONCONSULTATONS AND US EXPLORATIONS OF THE END OF WAR FORMULA IN ARAB CAPITALS. THE INTERNAL DEBATE IS LIKELY TO BECOME MORE HEATED ONLY IF AND WHEN A NEGOTIATING PROSPECT ACTUALLY MATERIALIZES.

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## Message Attributes

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